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VO Nguyen Giap, now Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces
DUONG Bach Mai, member of permanent Vietnam Government Delegation in Paris,
arrested by the French and reportedly now detained in Djibouti, East Africa
NGUYEN an Ninh and
NGUYEN van Tao. Both are members of the Tao-Ninh-Thau trio; the third one
was TA thu Thau (see paragraph 3); NGUYEN van Tao is now Minister of Labor.

3. All of the delegates to the Congress were ardent Stalinists. At that time there was no open schism between the Stalinist Communists and the Trotskyists in Indochina. There was beginning to be apparent, however, a difference of opinion between those Indochinese Communists who were definitely affiliated with the USSR and those who were not. For example, the Tao-Ninh-Thau trio, which had worked harmoniously together against the French, was beginning to split. TA thu Thau was the most prominent leader of the Indochinese Communists who refused affiliation with the USSR. Thau refused to attend the First Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1935. Afterwards he became famous as a Trotskyist leader and was executed by the Stalinists in 1945. [redacted] on the Trotskyist Movement in Indochina).

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4. The whole tone and contents of the Statutes indicate a close dependence on the Third Communist International (Comintern). They were written at the time of the Indochinese Communist Party's renaissance after the repression of the early 1930's--a renaissance which led to the great strengthening of the Party shortly afterwards, during the time of the Front Populaire in France.
5. These Statutes concern principally the organization and rules of the Party. They contain very little discussion of doctrine, except Statute 2 (see below), which is certainly a later addition. They deal almost entirely with duties, scarcely at all with rights. This is in accord with the spirit of the Party at that time (see Note at end of report).
6. The style in the original Annamese is condensed, often awkward and vague. The tone is lugubrious, and in places even desperate--with its emphasis on the complete negation of the individual in favor of the Party. The style and tone are in marked contrast with those to be found in the Constitution of the Vietnam Republic adopted in 1946, which is lucid, simple, lofty, hopeful and full of respect for the individual and his rights. Although the style of the Statutes is so different from that of the Constitution (drafted ten years later), the administrative machinery of the Republic as summed up in the Constitution is in a broad sense the outgrowth of the original organization of the Communist Party. Note the following similarities: "Party Organs" or "General Committees" and "People's Committees"; "Executive Committees" of the Party and "Executive Committees" of the present government; the "General Assembly" of the Party and the "People's Assembly" of the present regime; the "Central Executive Committee", the Tong-Ro, and the "Permanent Commission" of the People's Assembly; the Party "Can-Ro" and the present State "Can-Ro"; the "Infiltration Groups" and certain sorts of Tring Sat of the Cong-An; also the similarity in the hierarchization of the Party with the present hierarchization of the Governmental administration--in both cases making use of the Committees theoretically chosen by the local voters, but depending in fact in each case on the Committee of the "next higher level"--the Huyen Committee being answerable to that of the Province, that of the Xu or Ro to the Central Committee, etc. As the present Government is dominated by the Viet Minh and the Viet Minh is dominated by the theoretically non-existent Communist Party, these similarities are not remarkable.
7. At the time of the drafting, the terminology used by the Party was generalized, vague and sometimes incoherent. (It has since become specific). For example, the names used to denote various units of cellular organizations are: Chi-Bo, which suggests the branch of a tree; Phan-Bo, which merely means section; and Tieu-To, little nests. It is often impossible to determine from the text whether

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a General Committee or an Executive Committee is intended. There is much use of vague words such as: organ---Cap-Bo, an organ on any level; Dang-Bo, an organ of the Party; Cap-Dang-Bo, an organ of the Party on any level; Co-Quan, organ; representative, Dai-Bieu; Uy-Vien, delegate. Often terms are used interchangeably. At the time of the drafting, the word Can-Bo had not yet acquired the specific and definite meaning it now has and was sometimes used interchangeably with Chi-Dao, literally "guide". Just as the terminology for organs in general has been greatly modified since the drafting of these Statutes, so have the names for committees on various levels. In the Statutes for example, mention is made of the Tong-Bo (Committee of a Canton--not to be confused with its homonym, the Central Committee of the Viet Minh); Xu-Uy (Committee of a Xu); Phu-Uy (Committee of a Phu). All these terms have since disappeared from use.

25X1. TRANSLATION

SUMMARY OF THE STATUTES OF THE PARTY
Third Edition

The Central Committee (Trung-Uong) of the Indochinese Communist Party in its Eighth Congress, has decided, in order to help new Party Members to understand and remember the Statutes, to publish a Summary of the Statutes adopted by the Party on the occasion of the First Congress in 1935.

Name of the Party. Indochinese Communist Party (Dang Cong-San Dong-Duong);
Section of the Communist International (Quoc-Te Cong-San).

25X1 [] Note: A flat statement that the Indochinese Communist Party depends directly on the Comintern).

2. Doctrine and Purpose. The Indochinese Communist Party is the sole champion of the Indochinese Proletariat, guiding the Indochinese Proletariat and the whole Indochinese People toward the liberating Revolution, in order to make Indochina a completely free country, with a view to accomplishing the aims of the Democratic Bourgeois Revolution, proceeding to the Proletarian Revolution; and to accomplish the objectives of Socialism, the first stage of Communist doctrine.

25X1 [] Note: This paragraph was certainly an addition made at the time the Statutes were summarized in 1943--Eighth Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party. The reference to the Democratic Bourgeois Revolution is the result of the change which had recently occurred in the policies of world Communism based on USSR policies. Such a reference would have been inconceivable in 1935. Furthermore, the style of this paragraph is in marked contrast with that of the rest of the Statutes, and resembles more that of the "Fragment of a Textbook Used in Viet Minh Secret Communist Schools", currently reported).

Conditions for admission into the Party. Without distinction as to sex, any inhabitants of Indochina may be admitted into the Party if they fulfil the five following conditions:

- Recognize the program and rules of the Communist International, as well as the program and rules of the Party.
- ObeY and execute the decisions of the Communist International and of the Party.
- Manifest their activities in some basic Organ of the Party.
- Pay monthly dues.

25X1 [] Note: This is in line with Comintern policy to have the Communist Party in various countries be self-supporting as far as possible.)

- Receive the sponsorship of two persons who are already members of the Party, and recognition and approval by a committee on a higher level.

4. Conditions for Sponsorship.

- Workers and farmers who wish to join the Party must be sponsored by two persons both of whom have been members of the Party for at least three months.
- Office-workers and small merchants must be sponsored by two persons both of whom have been members of the Party for at least six months.

25X1 [] Note: The Annamese word Tri-Thuc, here translated as "office workers", really means those persons who earn their living by the use of their hands, as distinguished from manual laborers.

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- c. Previous members of another party must be sponsored by three persons who have been members of the Indochinese Communist Party for at least eight months.
- d. Those who have previously occupied a responsible position in any other party must be sponsored by four persons who have been members of the Indochinese Communist Party for at least twelve months, and in addition must be approved by the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party.
- e. For military men who wish to join the Party, conditions of entry vary according to their status in civilian life.

Note: For example, "workers", "former members of another party."

- 5. Responsibilities of Sponsors. Members who sponsor the admission of a candidate must know his origin, his address, and his place of work. If the information given by the sponsor is not accurate, the sponsor is subject to punishment varying from warning to expulsion from the Party. Before putting up a candidate for admission to the Party, a careful investigation of the candidate must be made, and he must be given a task to perform as a test.

Probation Period. New members must pass through a probation period: two months for workers, four months for farmers, six months for office workers, etc., and twelve months for those who have previously occupied a responsible position in another party. Members who are in the probationary period have the right to propose motions and discuss them, but not to vote on them. They have no right to be elected to a committee, but have the same responsibility for carrying out the orders of the Party as have the regular members.

Duties of Members.

- a. To conform to discipline, to preserve secrecy, and to participate zealously in the activities of the Party. To execute decisions of the Communist International, and of the Indochinese Communist Party.
- b. To improve their understanding of politics, and to study the methods of leading the masses.
- c. To mingle in various milieux in order to increase the influence of the Party in these milieux.
- d. To infiltrate into reactionary groups, to struggle daily in a clever fashion to destroy the influence of reactionary leaders, and to bring over the members of such groups to the side of the Party.
- e. To set up more and more new organizations and to guide the masses toward the defense of their interests.
- f. To spread stirring propaganda of the Party's revolutionary doctrine among the masses.
- g. To recruit new members for the Party.
- h. Members who remove from one locality to another must be furnished with accreditation papers from the committee of the original locality.

Persons who must be expelled from the Party.

- a. Those who aid the reactionaries, either directly or indirectly.
- b. Those who disobey the Party's iron discipline.
- c. Those who divulge the secrets of the Party.
- d. Those who act as spies or agents provocateurs (against the Party or its members); those who refuse any task assigned by the Party; and those who commit unauthorized acts which tend to discredit the prestige and authority of the Party.

Principles of Organization. The Communist Party is the supreme organization of the Proletariat, embracing the most politically-conscious and the most energetic fighters of the Proletariat. The Party has an iron discipline, and complete unity of action and thought.

Note: The instruction in this point is timely in view of the developing situation in 1945 between the Soviet (Socialist)-affiliated Communists and the Communists who were not so affiliated.

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a. The Party is a secret organization. The Party's mission is to use as a center its activities among the masses, in order to have the right to lead the Proletariat in all revolutionary movements.

[] Note: This is a right on which the Viet Minh have always insisted.)

b. The principle of the Party's organization is centralized democracy.

[] Note: A careful reading of the following lines, however, makes it perfectly clear that the elected committees on each level must take orders from the executive committees on the next higher level, and that the supreme authority rests in the Comintern. This discussion of "democracy" is practically confined to a discussion of "duties"; there is scarcely a reference to those "rights" which to an Occidental mind are inseparable from the concept of democracy.)

That is:

(1) From the lower level to the higher, the directing organs (Co-Quan Chi-Dao) of the Party on each level are elected by the members of the Party on that level meeting in general assembly.

(2) The organs on the lower levels must without fail render regular reports on their activities to the organs on the next higher level.

(3) All members have the right and duty to study and discuss any question which concerns the Party before it has been decided by vote; but as soon as it has been so decided, the minority must submit to the decision of the majority.

(4) The organs on the lower levels must execute the decisions of those on the next higher level, even if some of the members, or even if all of the organs representing a certain area, are not in agreement with those decisions. But those who are in opposition have the right to send complaints to higher organs, all the way up to the Communist International. In any event, prior to the possible arrival of countermanning orders from a higher level, all members must carry out in a normal manner the decisions which have been transmitted to them.

(5) Organs which cover the greatest number of factories, or several regions, are considered to be the most important, and to enjoy more authority than the lower organs.

(6) The organs of the Party have the right to make decisions on questions which concern their own area. But these decisions must be approved by organs on the higher level before being put into execution.

N.B. In circumstances which necessitate unusual secrecy, a higher organ has the right to decide whether a part, or the whole, of the executive committee of a lower-level organ should assume full responsibility.

[] Note: Reference is apparently made to daring acts of violence.)

10. System of Organization. Each cell (Chi-Do), meeting in council, chooses a secretary-general. Cells which contain more than eight members choose an executive committee. The representatives of Party organs in each Tong (canton), meeting in council, choose an executive committee for that Tong. The representatives of each Phu (prefecture), meeting in council, choose an executive committee for that Phu; similarly for each Huyen and for each Chau (Source Note: a similar division in the Mountain Regions) and for each Quan [] Note: an obsolescent division). The representatives from each Xu or Ky, [] Note: Tonkin, Annam, Cochinchina) meeting in council choose an executive committee for that Xu. The representatives from all Indochina, meeting in general assembly, choose the Central Executive Committee.

N.B. In regions embracing three or four neighboring provinces in which the Party's influence is increasing, the executive committee of the Xu may propose to the Central Committee the creation of interprovincial executive committees to direct the Party's affairs in these three or four provinces combined. In any one of the three Xu which is not yet in a position to designate its executive committee, the Central Committee will give orders directly to the Party's organs in that Xu. The Central Committee may also delegate its powers to the most important provincial or inter-provincial executive committee in such a Xu, to direct all the Party's organs in that Xu for the time being.

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11. The Cell (Chi-Bo).

- a. In conformity with the principles of organization, the cell which covers each factory, agricultural concession, barracks, school, etc., is the fundamental organ of the Party organization. All the Party members who are employed in a given establishment must belong to the cell which covers that establishment. Other Party members take as a basis the locality in which they live, and organize cells applicable to that locality - for example, cells for each village, street, or farm.
 - b. Any locality which includes three or more Party members may organize a cell.
 - c. Party members who live in neighboring communities which do not yet contain any cell, should meet together to form associated cells.
 - d. If the Central Committee gives special orders, special cells may be created.
- N.B. Any cell which contains more than six members is divided into sub-sections (Tieu-To). If necessary, several of these Tieu-To may be united into a section (Phan-Bo).

12. Duties of the Cells.

- a. Zealously to discuss programs, statutes, decisions, and any other documents of the Party and of the Communist International.
- b. To train new Party members and the People in general, in order to increase the friendliness of the masses toward the Party, with a view to improving their political consciousness.
- c. To increase the strength of the Party, with a view to organizing the political and economic struggle of the masses of the People, in order to put into effect the Party's doctrine, and to conserve the Proletariat's right to command.
- d. To decide on the plan of daily work for the whole cell and for each of its members.

13. Cellular Council. The Tieu-To and the cells must meet each week in council to take cognizance of the report of the secretary-general, to discuss the directives reaching them from a higher level, to distribute the daily work to their members, or to designate delegates (Dai-Rieu) to be present at meetings on higher levels. The secretaries-general of the cells, and the heads of the Tieu-To, are to be re-elected every three months.

14. Division of work in each Cell.

- a. Collect dues.
- b. Distribute newspapers.
- c. Work among the masses.

15. Committees for Tong in Country Areas.

(Note: The expression is tautological, as Tong or cantons are to be found only in country areas.)

The general committee of the Tong meets once every three months to take cognizance of the report of the secretary-general of the Tong committee, to discuss and adopt working methods, and to delegate the whole or a part of the executive committee to be present at the councils on higher levels. The executive committee of the Tong designates a secretary-general and a joint secretary-general, subject to the approval of the executive committee of the Huyen. The mission of the joint secretary-general on the different levels is to assist the secretary-general in daily affairs, and to act in his stead in his absence. The executive committee of each Tong meets in council once a month. The executive committee is to be re-elected every six months.

16. General Assembly of the Huyen. All the members of the Party in a given Huyen meet in general assembly once every nine months to take cognizance of the reports of the executive committee of that Huyen, to elect or re-elect the executive committee, or to designate delegates to be present at the meetings of committees on higher levels. The process is the same for Phu, Huyen, Chau, and Tuan. The executive committee of the Huyen meets once a week. If there is a permanent commission, the committee itself meets only once a month. The permanent commission on all levels

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should meet at least once a week. The permanent commission of the Huyen committee chooses a secretary-general and a joint secretary-general to direct the Party's affairs in the Huyen. These two secretaries-general must be approved by the executive committee of the province (Tinh).

17. General Assembly of the Tinh (Province). The members of the provincial general committee meet in general assembly once a year to take cognizance of the reports of the executive committee of that province, to decide on methods of action in the province, to elect or re-elect a provincial executive committee, or to designate delegates to be present at the meetings of committees on higher levels. The process is the same for each large Town (Thanh-Pho) and for each Special Region (Dac-Biet Khu). The provincial executive committee designates a permanent commission to look after current business. The permanent commission appoints a secretary-general and a joint secretary-general. The process is the same for each large Town and each Special Region. The two secretaries-general and the Director of Propaganda of the province must be approved by the executive committee of the Xu.
18. General Assembly of the Xu. The members of the general committee of each Xu meet in general assembly once every eighteen months to take cognizance of the report of the executive committee of that Xu, to elect or re-elect the executive committee of that Xu, or to designate delegates to be members of the General Assembly of the Party. The executive committee of the Xu appoints a permanent commission (including the secretary-general and the joint secretary-general) to direct current business, to assign duties to the Party's agents (Can-Bo), to distribute finances throughout the Xu, and to control the execution of the decisions of the executive committee of the Xu and of the directives of the Central Executive Committee. The two secretaries-general and the Director of Propaganda of the Party for the Xu must be approved by the Central Executive Committee. The executive committee of each Xu must submit regular reports to the Central Executive Committee at prescribed intervals and follow the plan of action decided upon by the Central Executive Committee. The executive committees of each of the three Xu of Indochina must meet at least once every three months.
19. Executive Committee of the Xu. The members of the executive committee of the Xu shall take charge in turn of directing the Party's activities in a certain number of large Towns or Special Regions, as well as of tasks relating to the executive committees of the Xu, such as: propaganda, training, organization, communications, finance, etc. The executive committee of the Xu appoints the editor of the Party's newspaper in that Xu, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.
20. General Assembly of the Party. The supreme organ of the Party is the Party's General Assembly, meeting in ordinary plenary session once every two years. Extraordinary sessions are either decided upon by the Communist International, or convoked by the Central Executive Committee, or upon demand of over one-half of the members present at the preceding session of the General Assembly, or upon demand of over one-half of the executive committees of the three Xu. The decisions of the extraordinary sessions of the General Assembly have the same authority and standing as those of the ordinary sessions. The number of members of the General Assembly to be elected from each Xu is determined by the Central Executive Committee in accordance with the number of Party members in each Xu.

The role of the General Assembly of the Party, though designated as the "supreme organ of the Party", is consultative rather than decisive, in relation to the Communist International.)
21. The General Assembly of the Party:
 - a. Takes cognizance of the reports of the Central Executive Committee;
 - b. Re-considers the Statutes and programs of the Party;
 - c. Decides on the strategy and tactics of the Party;
 - d. Elects members of the Central Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Communist International.

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22. The Central Executive Committee appoints a permanent commission to take charge of current business. The permanent commission appoints a secretary-general and a joint secretary-general to direct the activities of the entire Party, to distribute work to the Party's agents (Can-Bo), and to control the execution of the decisions of the General Assembly, of the Central Executive Committee, and of the Communist International.

23. The Central Executive Committee designates guides and delegates from that Committee to the executive committees of the several Xu. At the same time, the members of the Central Committee must share among themselves the work of the Central Committee. The Central Committee shall designate several departments: propaganda, training, organization, communications, finance, etc. The Central Committee in case of necessity shall create technical committees to arouse workers, peasants, soldiers, women, youth, etc. Persons who are charged with special tasks, such as communications, publications, finance, etc., shall have nothing to do with the current business of the Party.

25X1 [] Note: The Party was sufficiently large, even in 1935, to require that tight controls be exercised to prevent individual members of the Central Committee from "misusing" their positions for ulterior purposes.) The Central Committee shall designate the newspaper editing committee. The Central Committee shall make a proper distribution of the finances available.

24. The Central Executive Committee meets in council in plenary session once every three months. If the situation is unfavorable for a meeting, it must still meet at least once every six months. The Central Committee shall regularly and often send directives to the various executive committees of the Xu and shall inform them frequently as to the situation of the Central Committee's activities. N.B. If necessary, the Central Committee has the right to appoint supplementary members, but the total number of supplementary members shall in no case exceed one-third of the members of the Central Executive Committee.

25X1 [] Note: Another example of vague drafting. It is not clear whether they may not exceed one-third of the original number of ordinary members, or one-third of the total. This provision was to permit the appointment of certain returned students from Moscow, or other zealous and capable Communists, who would not be sufficiently well-known to the Party members to be elected in the normal fashion.)

5. Delegates. In order to accelerate the understanding and execution of the directives of the Party, the organs on higher levels should frequently send delegates to the organs on lower levels in order to control and direct their activities. For instance, the Central Committee should send its delegates to the Committees of the various Xu, the executive committee of the Xu to the interprovincial or provincial committees, etc.

26. Council of Agents (Can-Bo).

25X1 [] Note: This is an early reference to an organization which was in 1935 in its early stage of development, and which has since grown strong. Clearly, both the present-day State Can-Bo and Viet Minh Can-Bo are outgrowths of this early Communist Party conception.)

When necessary, each executive committee on whatever level may convocate a meeting of its Can-Bo, either upon the order of the committee on the next higher level, or upon the demand of the majority of its own members. The decisions reached in the council of Can-Bo must be approved by the executive committee which has convoked this meeting. If the executive committee on the next higher level approves, the council of Can-Bo may temporarily take the place of the general committee on its own level and appoint a new executive committee.

27. Party Discipline. In order to maintain unity of thought and deed, in order to guarantee the internal democratic character of the Party, in order to prevent the possibility of a minority attempting to impose its will on the majority, every important problem concerning the whole Party must be submitted to examination and discussion by the whole Party.

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25X1 [] Note: An attempt to give a democratic appearance, and to make all members feel that they have a voice in the Party.) However, such debates may not be held until they have been recognized as necessary by the Executive Committee, or demanded by the majority of members of the General Assembly.

25X1 [] Note: The latter provision effectively destroys whatever democratic features may have been suggested by its predecessor. The Executive Committee, as always, exercises the real power; it can always terrorize the General Assembly; and can stifle debate. Compare the ability of the Permanent Commission to terrorize the General Assembly of the Republic of Vietnam under the present Constitution).

These debates must be directed by the Central Committee in order to prevent self-seekers from profiting by them in order to build up cliques, or to sow discord in the bosom of the Party. In order to maintain this unity, the Party must observe an extremely severe discipline: a discipline of iron.

25X1 [] Note: This is a literal translation of the original Annamese Ky-Luat (discipline) Sat (iron). The word iron (Sat) in Annamese in its figurative use has the sense of the iron of a knife or of a hammer; it does not merely indicate hardness. The Annamese word used to suggest the analogy of hardness or inflexibility is Thop (steel), not employed here. "Iron" suggests an instrument of destruction. The passage therefore contains a veiled threat of destruction to any Party members who fail to observe this discipline.)

The Central Committee has the right to execute everything decided by the Party. If the members do not execute the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International, if they commit acts contrary to the doctrine or principles of the Party, if they create cliques for themselves, if they sow doubt and confusion in order to dislocate the Party, they are subject to the following penalties:

a. In the case of an individual: official criticism, warning, temporary suspension of assigned activity, temporary expulsion, or permanent expulsion.

25X1 [] Note: The Annamese word here translated "expulsion" is Khai-Tru (Khai = begin; Tru = subtract) This may mean expulsion, or may mean liquidation.

b. In the case of an organ:

(1) if the infraction is slight: official criticism.

(2) if the infraction is serious: the executive committee will be dissolved and a new one appointed, or else the whole organ will be dissolved and a new one formed.

c. Any member who has infringed the discipline of the Party shall be punished by the whole cellular council, investigated by the whole cell, or subjected to investigation by a special investigating committee.

25X1 [] Note: Another example of terrorism veiled under an appearance of democracy. The culprit is judged by the whole cell. He is therefore not the victim of the hatred of an individual, but has brought down upon himself the wrath of the whole Party; hence it is impossible for him to escape punishment by bribery or favoritism).

Judgments so pronounced must be approved by the committee on the higher level before being executed. In the case of a decision to expel a member: until this decision is approved by the committee on the higher level the accused will be only suspended in his functions. The accused has the right to appeal the sentence upward through the committees on various levels all the way to the Communist International.

The organs on the higher levels, if informed of the treachery of any member, have the right to expel him directly; but they shall communicate their decision to the various other organs of the Party. If official expulsion appears to be inopportune, secret expulsion may be considered.

25X1 [] Note: Expulsion = liquidation ?)

If without a good reason a member absents himself from three consecutive meetings in council of the cell of which he is a part, or if for three consecutive months he does not pay his dues, he will also be considered to be no longer a member of the Party.

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28. Finance. The expenses of the Party are covered by dues and subscriptions. Dues are fixed by the Central Executive Committee. Members who are unemployed, or who are very poor, shall be exempt from paying dues. The finances of the Party are centralized from the lower level to the higher; that is to say, each month the committees on the lower levels must remit to the committees on the higher levels on which they depend, one-third of the dues collected by their organs.

29. Infiltration Groups.

[] Note: The Annamese word Dang-Doan (Dang = party; Doan = group) is here translated freely as "Infiltration groups" for the sake of greater clarity.) If within any organization which is not affiliated with the Party there are two or more members of the Party, an infiltration group or groups must be created within this organization. The mission of these infiltration groups is to extend the influence of the Party and to put into effect the Party's doctrine within the bosom of non-affiliated organizations. These infiltration groups of the Party on each level are directed by the organs on that level. When an infiltration group is in disagreement with the organ to which it is subject, it may appeal to the organ on the higher level. But until countermanding orders are received from that organ, the infiltration group must meanwhile conform to the decision of the organ to which it is subject. When a Party organ holds a discussion on a question which concerns an infiltration group which is subject to it, representatives of the infiltration group shall be present. These representatives have the right to discuss and to vote. Those infiltration groups which have numerous members shall choose an executive committee, including a secretary-general to look after current business. The executive committee and secretary-general of the infiltration groups on each level shall be approved by the executive committee of the organ on the same level. The executive committee of an infiltration group is answerable to the executive committee of the organ on its own level, for the activities of that group. The executive committee on the level in question has the right to participate in the meetings of the infiltration group, and to remove members of the infiltration group, but in that case it must communicate its decision to the infiltration group.

[] Note: The above passage sets up safeguards against disloyalty by double agents. Towards anyone who might be tempted to such disloyalty, there is an undertone of cynicism and menace.) Before designating members for an important mission, the infiltration group must confer with the executive committee of the Party on the level in question.

* * * * *

APPROVED: 20 May 1941 by the Central Executive Committee meeting in its Eighth Congress.

PRINTED: at the Special Press of the Indochinese Communist Party. Printing finished 22 September 1945.

[] Note: It may well be wondered why anyone in Indochina would have wished to join a Party whose discipline was so austere; which provided practically no rights or privileges to members, but on the contrary demanded the most exacting duties - often involving danger of arrest, torture, or death; and whose statutes and practice were full of gloomy and cynical threats of frightful punishment for anyone who should fail in his duty. The answer lies partly in the fact that many reflective Annamese were overwhelmed by a feeling of utter frustration amounting to suffocation under the French regime. To them, the conditions of life appeared intolerable: lack of access to foreign countries; insufficient cultural opportunities; limited prospects of a satisfactory career for a patriotic intellectual; arrogance of French officials toward all classes of Annamese; lack of the most elementary democratic rights for the Annamese; constant danger of arbitrary arrest, torture, imprisonment or execution. Consequently, the features of the Communist discipline which appear so repulsive to the Occidentals appeared to them to be certainly no worse than what they had always been accustomed to: perhaps better. Naturally

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from their point of view, nothing could be worse than the French. The Communist Party, with the support of the Comintern, and with the promise of technical and possibly financial help from the USSR and with the great efficiency of the Party itself, appeared to hold out the best hope for dislodging the French. Desperate measures were required, and were accepted. The USSR's power of political attraction for Southeast Asia was high in 1935; the Indochinese generally realized that it was useless to expect any help from the Democracies or the Fascist states at that time; and the USSR had already given evidences of sympathy and tokens of assistance. For example, the invitation to large numbers of Indo-chinese to attend courses at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow. For many Annamese, in their feeling of frustration against the French, there must have been something positively attractive in one feature of the Party which is objectionable to anyone brought up under Democratic conditions: namely, the reduction of the individual to an unidentified cog in the vast machine of the Party. This feature undoubtedly provided a sense of fellowship and unity. The full flowering of Communist (Viet Minh) terrorism could not at that time have been clearly foreseen by many.)

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